614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests
563 that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism. In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

614 Wherever monarchy with its state organization has not yet
621 dissolved the clans and dispersed their members all over the various feudal districts of the Batussi state (see p. 89), wherever the clans have preserved the main elements of their ancient solidarity and autonomy, as is the case particularly in the more or less independent border provinces of Urundi (and Ruanda), the clans form small or large communities under an elected clan elder (umugabo). This is especially true of
614 the Bahutu clans that existed in the area before the period of
423 Batussi rule. The office of the umugabo is hereditary in
621 many cases. The central communalistic element in the organization of these clans is the communal ownership of the land occupied by the clan. The land belongs to the clan community probably because it was originally appropriated and cultivated by the clan. The individual clan members is merely entitled to the use of the land he cultivates or of the pasture where his cattle grazes. Only the hut built on this ground is the real property of the individual, in addition to the inventory of implements, tools, weapons, and the cattle he has raised from the herd with which he has been vested by his feudal lord (see p. 93).

614 E. Johanssen, a missionary who in 1907 founded the first
182 Protestant missionary stations of Dsinga and Kirinda in Ruanda
[114] and who is an eminent student of the Banjaruanda, makes the following comment on the social importance of the Ruanda clans: "These kin group organizations hand down the old customs and traditions from one generation to the next. In this way they preserve the national characteristics against intermixture and decay. The easier it is to loosen the ties of the family group in its narrowly defined sense as a result of polygamy and by the dissolution of marriage, the greater is the [105] importance of the stable, indissoluble, religiously determined kin group. The destruction of this group would cause the entire nation to disintegrate and to split up into isolated groups which would be exposed to any outside influence. There can be no doubt that the kin group, as the

563 always an understanding, and they often live side by side. In spite of all their prejudices, they [133] are obliged to stick together in order to assert themselves against the farmers who are a large majority in the country.

361 There are far fewer Batwa than Batutsi. The extensive nature of their livelihood makes a concentrated Batwa population
● 621 impossible. Larger, purely Batwa settlements are to be found only in the primeval forest and in Nyanza near Musinga. Otherwise the Batwa are widely scattered amidst the Bahutu population.

I am acquainted with the following Batwa groups:

1. Batwa under Kahima of Kazu. Kahima is the subordinate of the Muhutu, Chuma, who lives three hours south of Nyundo. Together with his petty subchief, Sebuleza, he has under him up to 150 Batwa, including women and children.

2. Batwa under Ngunzu. Ngunzu is subordinate to the Muhutu chief, Mutubula. His village is situated on a mountain near Kahama and can be seen from the third forest clearing on the way from Ruasa to Kisenyi. This group is said to be at least as strong as the other, even though one can see only seven huts from the road.

3. Batwa under Lukara are settled on the pass between Muhawura and Mgahinga. They are probably not much fewer in number. From Lukara's kraal we could see only two or three Batwa huts, and Lukara brought me only a dozen adults to be measured, but the fact that they had to be driven out of Belgian territory by military force shows that there must be a larger number. Mgahinga owes the name "Kirunga ya Batwa" to them.

4. Batwa of Mikeno. Dr. Kandt (1) visited this group. He

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1894), pp. 300, 301, 304.

mentions two groups of huts. The first has two huts; the second is four hours distant and contains six to eight huts. The latter are situated around a clearing. There are from 15 to 20 Batwa here.

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[113]

Dr. Kandt (2) mentions, however, that there are also Batwa

2. Kandt, R., "Bericht über meine Reisen und gesamte Tätigkeit in Deutsch-Ostafrika [Report on my Journeys and Entire Work in German East Africa]," Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1900 [Reports on the German Protectorates 1900], p. 246.

living in the forests of Sabinio.

In Ndorwa the following influential Batwa chiefs were mentioned.

5 and 6. Ngurube and Katulenge. Ngurube's Batwa are called Puniu. (3)

3. Parisch, F.R. Von "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 to 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

7. The Batwa on Idjwi Island were visited by Dr. J. Mildbraed and Dr. H. Schubotz and are supposed to be more similar to the Pygmies than the rest of the Batwa.

8. Batwa of southern Ruanda. There are large colonies of Batwa in the Rugege Forest and in the forests in the southwestern part of the province of Nduga. This [134] group is called Mashami or Machaba. Their forest belongs to the Njaruguru country which was formerly under the jurisdiction of Chief Kaizuka (1).

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

9. Batwa from Kabgaye. Apart from these larger groups, I met a colony of 20 to 25 who lived in the vicinity of the Kabgaye Mission (Marangara) and were potters.

10. Finally there are Batwa in Nyanza who live there in order to serve the king. From time to time they are relieved by fellow tribesmen.

572 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu
608 substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana
614 beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship be-
178 tween blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet
608 beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage
608 prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously ob-
582 served. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the
608 wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other
837 reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one
608 another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the
563 Batwa.

614 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan
621 varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

614 621 In the north the members of individual clans have large areas wholly to themselves. In view of the not very strictly organized political situation, these autonomous territorial communities can sometimes play a very important role because of their solidarity and their often rather large numbers. In Nduga, on the other hand, the power of the state has broken up the clans, scattered them, and robbed them of any possibility of forming political or territorial clan unions. The representatives [246] of the various warring factions were incorporated into territorial groups and placed under chiefs appointed by the state. If you travel from Mulera to Nduga via Bugoye, you can observe the successive phases in this process of the formation of a state. You see how the independent, undifferentiated clans are first drawn into all kinds of dependent relationships and are then gradually absorbed.

In taking possession of Bugoye, members of the same clans have settled in various places. As a result, the whole country represents a mosaic of properties occupied by different members of the same clans who are physically separated from one another, yet still aware of their historical connection. This is most clearly evident in the institution of blood revenge, as well as in the prohibitions regarding food and marriage. This awareness, however, is not sufficient to bring about the formation of larger, independent, well-disciplined political unions. Every individual settlement is an entirely independent community with its own elder at the head.

614 622 In clan communities that have been unaffected by conquest, the head of the community has little authority. He represents the clan community in external affairs and settles internal disputes. The latter are one of the most important reasons why clan members emigrate. The headman is known as mugabo, and his position is hereditary, usually devolving upon the eldest son. In the list given below, the bagabo are given first place.

After the subjugation of clan communities by outside conquerors, the mugabo occupies a special place. His duty is to collect taxes and to deliver them to the official commissioned by the king. However, this official position gives him a certain

in the courtyard to fetch water. No one was in a hurry to make the half an hour trip to the water hole. Lukara grew angry at this delay, seized a few people by their hands, and pushed them aside to have them get the water. One of them rebuffed Lukara with the words, "I am no Murashi," and would not let himself be singled out. Lukara began to scold and asked the name of the man's father, but did not molest him further. The water had to be fetched by newcomers. Lukara has allowed these newcomers to settle, and therefore he can, of course, also drive them out again. He cannot treat his fellow tribesmen so arbitrarily.

In spite of the friction between the clan elder and the clan members, the Barashi support Lukara. They know that his downfall will mean their subjugation to outsiders. That is why Lukara is so strong in the face of his opponents, even though he has not as many men to put into the field. His Batutsi opponents must depend on Bahutu who have no such interest in Batutsi successes.

Lukara, whose father became a mugaragu only through the demagogic Lwabugiri, now passes himself off as a Mututsi. His men, too, say that he is a Mututsi. His fellow clansmen, however, merely say [248] that whenever he can, he tries to oppress his own people with newcomers, as an outsider, a Mututsi, would do.

In this manner the peasant aristocracy made up of clan elders merges with the Batutsi. We are, therefore, justified in asking outselves whether this gradual rise to nobility, sealed by the forgetting of ones origins is not the chief reason why Bahutu clan names occur among the Batutsi.

The size of the autonomous clan communities, which roughly correspond to our villages, varies a great deal. In many cases they have a population of about 100, while some have a few thousand inhabitants. In the Barashi territory, for example, there are 6,000 to 8,000 people. The fertile area is bounded on the north by primeval forests covering the volcanoes, on the east by Lake Bolero, and on the south by the lava steppes. The population was pushed out of the lava plain by the Barashi. The Batwa, however, remained on Muhawura.

As we have seen, the population of these communities does not consist entirely of clan members. There are also outsiders who

621 614 settle among the clan members as clients (bagaragu) who perform services for them for which they get their food and from time to time a sheep or goat. They are poor devils who in this way must scrape together the means to buy a wife. There are others in the densely populated areas where there is no free land who rent acreage and even own houses on rented land. Others rent only as much land as is necessary for their hut and a small courtyard, and they make their living as day laborers.

We must point out that settling on the land of a strange clan presupposes a certain calm and stability and signalizes the impending deterioration of the clan community. Under more primitive conditions where clan organization is at its height, we seldom find cases of people settling on the land of a strange clan. Life among strangers would be too dangerous because feuds involving blood revenge might break out. There is no security against feuds between the clan of the host and that of the settler, and then the isolated person is the first victim because one can most easily get at him.

614 423 Property. The clans of Bugoye and Mulera occupy regions which were taken over and cleared by their ancestors several generations ago.

In Ruanda the clearing of the primeval forest plays a very important role in the conception of ownership. In Bugoye, despite the recent Batutsi conquest, land is regarded as the property of those whose ancestors [249] took possession of and cleared the corresponding sections of primeval forest. This comes out in legal cases involving property, when they cite as a witness the stone on which the bush knife (muhoro) was sharpened when the land under dispute was cleared. The party claiming the land says: "I shall bring the whetstone (uzakuha ulutsiaga) that my ancestor used when he cleared this piece." In view of this, the clan members may also be regarded as the owners of the land occupied by them.

[422] However, although the huts, the animals, and all the furnishings are absolutely private possessions which one can dispose of as he sees fit, the possession of land is not entirely free of restrictions. The clan members really have only the use of the common property given them. The land, like its possessor, is the property of

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
[643] of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
231 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
●621 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma,
592 and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near
423 Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.
231 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

6:Czekanowski--170 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Baishaza of Katebe

No	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	1/2	—	—	2	—	„mugabo"
	Nikora	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	—	3½	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	„	1	2	2	—	1	—	1/2	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semilyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichoni	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Banitogega	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	„	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	1/2	2	2	2	—	outside
	Sebichikira	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	3	2	—	—	
6.	Mazayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	1	—	1½	7	12	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisaga	Mushobio	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukarà	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	„	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	½	1	—	4	2	Field of No.1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgiaha	1	—	—	—	1	—	½	2	2	2	—	Son-in-law
	Birere	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	Brother of No.12
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	Field of No.1
14.	Bukara	„	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Antigoni	„	1	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Pilipo	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
15.	Segihobi	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
	— . —		1	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	Children of vagrant wife
16.	Nderiwamunda	„	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
17.	Bihwehwe	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
18.	Gihigwa	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	3	—	2	1	
			1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 5/10	41	28	45	12	104 persons 1)

midwives

1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

6: Czekanowski --171 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus	Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)															
1.	**Rugira**	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2^{1}/_{4}+1$	3	4	3	1		„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudahe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
2.	**Dominiko**	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$^{1}/_{2}$	2	2	2	—		
	Budjodjwe-	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3^{1}/_{2}+1$	—	—	—	—		
3.	**Rukara**	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1		
	Muchuchu	Murashi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Birikunzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Rusigari	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
4.	**Paro**	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—		
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	**Rudjanju**	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2^{3}/_{4}+1$	4	4	4	1		
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
6.	**Sedigi**	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+^{1}/_{2}$	2	2	4	1		
7.	**Bihire**	„	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1		
8.	**Bashaki**	„	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—		
9.	**Ishaho**	„	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+^{1}/_{2}$	3	—	3	1		
	Mwiza	„	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
10.	**Patris**	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1		
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12^{3}/_{4}+4$	22	12	30	7	61	persons 1)
Bagwabiro of Kitebe															
1.	**Mwuyekure**	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$^{1}/_{2}$	5	2	4	1		„mugabo"
2.	**Maliro**	„	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1		
3.	**Semiteza**	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1		
4.	**Mahembe**	„	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1		
	Karisti	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Kichondo	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	**Bidjari**	„	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1		
6.	**Sekini**	„	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1		
7.	**Sebihumira**	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$^{1}/_{2}$	—	4	1		
			7	14	3	4	14	2	$6^{1}/_{2}$	$25^{1}/_{2}$	7	36	7	41	persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical with the number of women. It is very important to note that the head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

631 642 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156, 159.

only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavahigi, but he also speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 631 The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka, as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service [622] (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare, Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 614 In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have no great power, much more primitive conditions have been preserved. Here too, however, political units are represented by hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of the members of the clan. These communities are directly subordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi, however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here, also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies. I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render compulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does not pay taxes to Musinga. We find here the same clan communities, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief represents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

621 614 representative at court, we find clans that do have their representatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 202 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hilltop to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

625 578 The population hates the police agents. I had an opportunity to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

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and Tutsi compounds. Only the size and number of huts and enclosures were different.[24]

These compounds, usually surrounded and more or less hidden by banana groves, were scattered throughout the country. They were on the top or on the slopes of hills, never in the valleys which were flooded every year at the end of the rainy season. They were usually rather isolated but even when they were not far from each other (and they were never so near together as to have two adjacent hedges) they did not constitute villages in the sense of concentrated clusters of dwellings situated near the centre of the territory worked by the inhabitants. There was, however, some grouping on a predominantly local basis of people who were all personally acquainted with each other. They could be described, following Murdock's terminology, as *neighbourhoods*.[25] These neighbourhoods were made up of a certain number of compounds (from twenty to sixty) situated on a hill (*umusozi*) or a part of a hill (*umurenge*). The people living there had a few common activities: mutual aid in the building of huts and in the performance of certain agricultural tasks, and recreational gatherings (such as dancing, jumping competitions, arrow shooting, &c.). They showed a certain *esprit de corps* in taking the side of one of their members in a dispute against a member of another similar community. The word used to designate the members of such groups expressed this idea of neighbourhood. They were called *abazimya muriro*, 'those who put out the fire', people very often needed. One important person in the group such as a lineage-head, was appointed as neighbourhood-head (*umukoresha*) by the traditional administrative authority to take charge of the collection of dues and tribute-labour of a hill or, more frequently, of a group of hills (*umutware w'umosozi*). He acted as an intermediary between his neighbours and the hill chief. The group could refuse the appointment of a certain person and another would be chosen. These neighbourhoods had no communal place for meeting, exchanging goods, or worshipping.

The same pattern of local grouping was to be found throughout Ruanda.

[24] Cf. Czekanowski, 117, p. 200 ff; Peuweis, 1953; Vincent, 1954, pp. 12-15.

[25] Murdock, 1949, p. 80. The definition of village given in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 64. ('a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted') cannot be applied to the Ruanda type of local community.

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The district was divided into hills (umusozi). At that level the
627 cattle- and land-chiefs had only one subordinate, the hill-chief, *umutware w'umusozi*, whose counterpart in the present administrative organization is called sub-chief or *ibisonga*.

621 On each hill, there were usually several neighbourhoods. In
622 each, one of the family heads living there was chosen as its head by the hill-chief. He was called *umukoresha*.

(*b*) *Taxes*

651 Tributes and dues for which the land-chief was responsible
697 were: any kind of labour, usually agricultural; *uguhuniha* (putting into the granary), which consisted of a certain number of baskets of beans, peas, and sorghum to be delivered at harvest time; *amavu* (bananas to be used for brewing beer). These tributes were due from Hutu. The person who provided these things was the family head who was considered as the individual producer of the rugo. But between him and the land-chief, there was a hierarchy of persons responsible for the carrying out of the levies: sometimes the lineage head (if he was living in the same neighbourhood), then the neighbourhood head, and finally the hill-chief.

[622] Through the hill-chief, too (according to 68 per cent. of the informants), the cattle-chief obtained jars of milk from the Tutsi. Moreover, the latter had to provide (according to 88 per cent.) *inkuke*, cows kept by the beneficiary in order that milk could be consumed fresh.

These tributes were centralized in the royal residence of the district which was occupied by the king when he was travelling in the district. This residence was called *rugo*, the ordinary word meaning a compound dwelling. 95 per cent. of our informants remembered several names of royal district residences and 86 per cent. had not forgotten the name of the residence in the district where they used to live as children.

Revenues of a district were either reserved to the king himself or were granted to one of the king's wives. In the first case, the [697] residence was called *ingaligali* and was administered by a king's concubine (*umuja*, girl-servant).

Administrative officers collecting tributes, had the right to keep a part for their own benefit. According to 95 per cent. of our informants, the hill-chiefs had the right to deduct some agricultural produce, of which they could keep about a third. Then the land-chief—according to 99 per cent.—could also keep a part of it,

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[P. 140]

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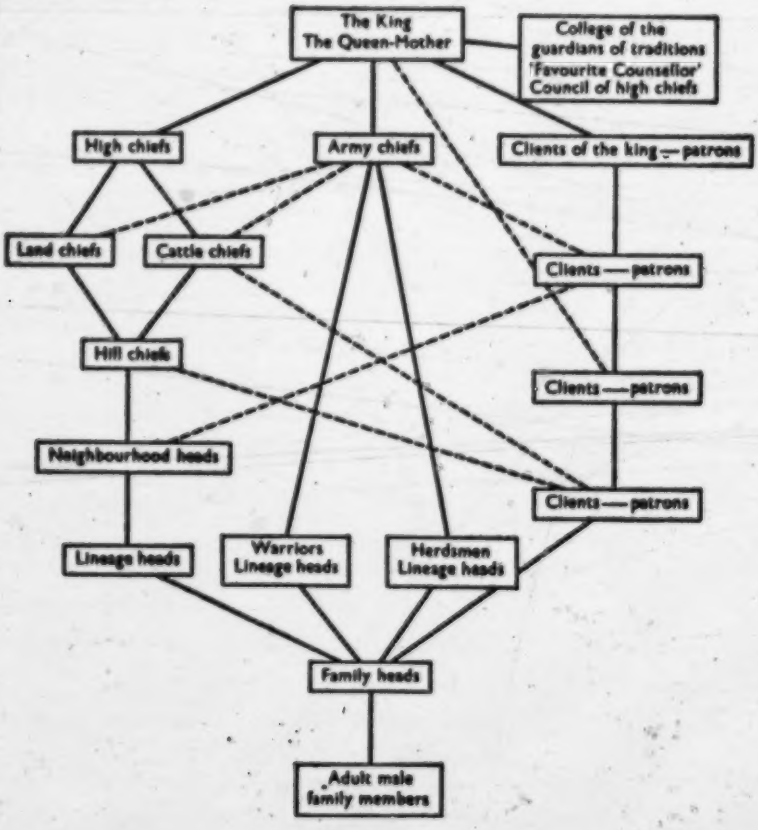

Diagram D.

This diagram suggests the complexity of Ruanda social relations if it is remembered that an individual generally has several political roles. Thus a high chief was very often also an army chief as well as a client of the king, and all the chiefs of the two premier hierarchies had their places in the system of feudal relations as clients and patrons. The broken lines indicate some of these possible pluralities of relationships.